

(c) Melchior
Adam. in vita
Philos. p. 498.

hands, and returned the next Day to his Quarters. That Exercise very much hastened the Effect of his Remedies. After he returned into his own Country, he made a Poem, which pleased the Duke of Parma so well, that he procured him the Place of Secretary of Antwerp. That Poem was a Panegyric on the Duke of Parma, on the taking of That City. He composed afterwards divers Court Poems [C], and at last made David's Psalms the chief Subject of his Pen. He died before the Impression of what he had done in them was finished (c) [D]. It was the thirteenth of January 1609 (d). He published his Life of David in 1608. He left but one Daughter. A Collection of his Epigrams, Elegies, and other scattered Poems was printed at Cologne in 1615; to which are added all the Verses that could be found of his Son John Ascanius Boebius, who died in Italy in the Flower of his Youth. Francis Swertius, who took care of that Edition, informs us, that his good Friend John Boebius was unhappy in a Wife, which, says he, is often the Fate of Great Men (e).

(d) Idibus Jan.
Id. ibid. Val.
Andreas ubi su-
pra. Moreri
renders it the
15th of January;
which is wrong.

(e) Matrimonio
implicatus fuit
n n usquequaque
felici ac concordi
quod fere viris
magnis com-
mune. Swert.
Atten. Belg. pag.
398.

[C] He composed divers Court Poems.] Thus I call, for Example, the Description of the Honours done to the Governours of the Netherlands, when they took possession of their Government. That which he made upon the Journey and Installation of Albert of Austria, and of his Spouse the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, was not printed in the Year 1595, as Valerius Andreas affirms; for they did not make their Entry till 1599.

[D] He died before the Impression of what he had done on the Psalms was finished.] Melchior Adam asserts it twice together in plain Terms (3). Nevertheless it might be questioned, if we should refer ourselves to Francis Swertius, who makes no manner of mention of any Books of Boebius printed after

his Death, except a Collection of divers Poems. Besides, he observes, that the Physical, Moral, Political, and Historical Observations of Boebius, which are doubtless his Work on the Psalter, were printed in the Year 1608. But when I consider, that Valerius Andreas, whose Work is without comparison less faulty than that of Francis Swertius, ascribes to Boebius a Book entitled, *Observationes Physicæ, Ethicæ, Politicæ & Historicæ in Psalmos & Græcis Latinisque Autoribus*, without noting the Year of the Impression, I cannot think, that the Year 1608, marked by Francis Swertius, is right, and consequently, I am of opinion, that it is best to keep to Melchior Adam's Narrative, as if the Author of the *Athenæ Belgicæ* had said nothing.

BODEGRAVE, a Village of Holland on the Rhine. I only speak of it to correct Moreri's Dictionary, wherein we find it is a Borough famous for the Victory, which the French obtained there over the Dutch in 1672. Which is a Falsity [A]. Baudrand is quoted for it, which is another Falsity [B].

[A] Moreri says it is a Town famous for a battle ----- which is a Falsity.] There never was any Battle or Skirmish at Bodegrave, between the French and the Dutch. All that can be said, is, that about the latter end of December 1672, the French drew up a considerable Army to penetrate into the Heart of Holland by the favour of the Ice, but that a great Thaw, that happened suddenly, obliged them to give over their Enterprize. Their Vexation at that Disappointment, carried them to extreme Cruelties against the Inhabitants of Bodegrave, which was one of the Posts they had possessed themselves of, and were forced to abandon. The Particulars of their Barbarities are to be found in a Book published by Mr Wicquefort, on that Subject (1).

[B] ----- Moreri cites Baudrand, which is another Falsity.] For Mr Baudrand does not say, that the French obtained a Victory over the Dutch, in that Place: He says only, that the Dutch were ill treated there by the French; *ubi Belgæ multi male habiti fuerunt à Francis anno 1672*. Perhaps I have already said but too often, that a Translator, who ventures to paraphrase, or to depart never so little from his Original, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the Matter in question. Without which, he exposes himself to mistakes so much the more blameable, because upon that account many People impute them to those that are very innocent of them; I mean, to the Authors translated. An hundred Examples of this Disorder might easily be shewn.

(1) *Imitatus, A-
vis fidelle aux
veritables Hol-
landois.*

BODIN (JOHN), a Native of Angers, one of the most able Men that were in France in the XVIth Century, studied the Civil Law at Toulouse (a), and having taken his Degrees there, he read Law Lectures with great Applause of his Auditors (b). — At that time he designed to settle himself at Toulouse in the Quality of Professor of the Civil Law. And with this view, in order to get the good will of the Toulousains, he made his Oration *de Instituenda in Republica juventute*, which he dedicated to the People and Senate of Toulouse, and recited publicly in the Schools of that City. It has also been said, that, with the same Design, he made the Epitaph of Clementia Isaura (c) [A] engraved at Toulouse in 1557, under the Statue of the said Clementia. But at last he preferred Pleading to the Civil

(a) Menage, Re-
marques sur la
vie de Pierre
Ayrault, p. 141.

(b) See his Latin
Letter to Pibrac,
prefixed to his
Republic.

(c) Who institu-
ted the Floral
Games of Tou-
louse, as is
falsely pretended.

[A] It has been said ----- that he made the Epitaph of Clementia Isaura, engraved ----- under her Statue.] Mr Menard asserts it in his *Illustrious Men of Anjou* (1); but Catel says, in his *Memoirs of the History of Languedoc*, that Bodin, who is thought to be Author of that Epitaph, was not so; but that Martin Gascon was the Author of it. Thus Mr Menage has expressed himself. Let us see Catel's Words: 'No Body doubts but the Inscription on the Pedestal of the said Statue is new, and done in the Year 1557; though it is uncertain by whom; for some say, that it was Bodin, who writ the Book on the Republic, when he was a Student at Toulouse; Others say, that it was an Advocate named Dutil; but I believe, it was an Advocate called

Mr Martin Gascon, born in the Isle of Rhodes, who was Capitoul that Year, and a very good Latinist, according to the Testimony of the Learned Physician Ferrier, who in a small Poem, which he published concerning the excellent Men of Toulouse, speaks thus of the said Gascon:

*Ipsaque de longis regionibus incluta fama
Gasconum adduxit Rhodium, Ciceronis alum-
num* (2).

*Their spreading Fame has brought from distant
Rhodes*

Gascon, great Tully's Scholar.

(2) Catel, *Mé-
moires de l'Hist.
du Languedoc*,
pag. 400.

[B] Loyfel

(1) Menage, Re-
marq. sur la vie
de Pierre Ay-
rault, p. 141.

‘ Civil Law, and left the School of *Toulouse* for the Bar of *Paris*. *Loysel* and *Sammarthanus* say, that he had no great Success in his Pleading [B]. And doubtless this was the Reason that made him leave the Bar, to apply himself to the Com-
 ‘ posing of Books, wherein he succeeded admirably well. His first Performance
 ‘ was his Commentary upon *Oppian*’s Books on Hunting, and his Translation of
 ‘ those Books into *Latin Verse*.’ He is accused of having been a Plagiary there [C].
 I shall give the List of his other Books [D] in a Remark, and shall not forget what
 concerns his *Heptaplomeres*, which never was printed, and wherein it is said, that

(3) In the Remark [A], of the Article (PETER) AYL-RAULT, Citation (1).

(4) Sammarth. Eleg. lib. iv. pag. 92, 93.

[B] *Loysell* and *Sammarthanus* say, that he had no great success in his pleading.] See, above, the words of *Anthony Loysel* (3), to which add this Passage of *Sammarthanus*: ‘ Neque vero quam scriptis comparaverat existimationem presentia sua minuebat, si quando in familiari hominum congressu de quacunque re proposita diserte copioseque disputaret. Quo magis mirandum est, hominem ea facultate præditum inter nobiliores curiæ Parisiensis advocatos locum obtinere non potuisse: præsertim cum æquales haberet Brissios, Pascasios, Pithæos, & alios complures, ingenii laude præstantes viros, qui amcenioribus etiam disciplinis incumberent, nec eo minus celebriter in fori luce versarentur (4). — Nor did he, by his presence, lose any of the Credit, he had obtained by his Writings; for, in familiar Conversation, he would dispute elegantly and copiously on any subject proposed. Which makes it the more wonderful, that a Man endowed with such Faculties could not obtain a Place amongst the first Rate Advocates in the Court of Paris. Especially as he had for his Contemporaries, the Brissos, the Pascasius’s and Pithæus’s, and several other Men, eminent for great Parts, who applied themselves to the pleasanter Studies, and were not therefore the less famous and eminent in the Court.

[C] He wrote a Commentary on *Oppian*: he is accused of having been a Plagiary there.] ‘ *James Bongars* pretends, in one of his Letters to *Conrad Rittersbusius*, a Commentator and Translator of *Oppian*, that *Bodin* had composed that Work out of the Writings of *Turnebus*, which seems very unlikely; since *Bodin* was not inferior in Learning to *Turnebus*; and in 1555, when *Bodin* printed his *Oppian*, for which he had obtained a Licence in 1553, *Turnebus* was still living; for he died not before the Year 1565. However, *Turnebus* himself complains, at the end of his Edition of *Oppian* of 1555, that his Emendations on that Author had been stolen from him. Septem ab hinc annis, leviter emendaveram *Oppianum* de Venatione, partim animi conjecturâ, partim libri veteris ope. Eas emendationes quidam usurpavit, & sibi donavit: quas tamen non putabam tanti, ut in furtivis rebus esse deberent. Eas à nobis vindicatas & recuperatas esse, nemo conqueri debet: nam rerum furtivarum, lege, æterna est auctoritas. — Seven Years ago I made some slight Emendations on *Oppian*’s Book of Hunting, partly by conjecture, and partly by the Assistance of an antient Book. A certain person has made use of these Emendations, and put them off for his own; ’tis true, I did not think them of so much Value, as to be worth stealing. Yet no Body ought to blame me for claiming and taking them again; for, by Law, I have a perpetual Right to things that have been stole from me. Which probably ought to be understood of *Bodin*. On the other side *Bodin* complains in his Method of History, that a Grammarian had made use of his Commentary upon *Oppian* in an ungrateful manner. Quos ego de Venatione liberos, cum Latino verlu & Commentariis illustrassem, quidam Grammaticus, quantum libuit de meo labore detrahens, iterum pervulgavit. — Which Books on Hunting, after I had illustrated them with Latin Verses and Notes, a certain Grammarian, extracting from my work what he thought fit, has published again. In the same Year 1555, *William Morel* printed the Translation in Latin Verse of *Oppian*’s Books de Piscatione, and *Oppian*’s Books de Venatione in Latin Prose: and ’tis likely *Bodin* meant that Translation of *Oppian*’s Books de Venatione (5).’ Note that *Bongars*’s Letter, quoted by *Mr Menage*, is to be found in the Eighty second and Eighty third Pages of

(5) Menage, ubi supra, pag. 142.

the *Gallia Orientalis*. It is dated from *Frankfort* the fourth of April 1600. *Mr Colomies*’s Father received a Copy of it in the Year 1648. He that sent it him had it from *Mr Gronovius*, the Father, who had transcribed the Original at *Nuremberg*, in the Year 1632, in the House of *Nicholas Rittersbusius* the Son of *Conrad*. There are many things disadvantageous to *Bodin* in that Letter. That which concerns his Plagiarism is conceived in these Terms: *Jam edidisse illum lectiones Turnebi in Oppianum pro suis, nemo nostrorum ignorat*. (6). — Now we all know that he published *Turnebus*’s Readings on *Oppian* for his own. Note also, that *Mr Menage* has given but a weak reason to justify him. It is grounded on *Bodin*’s being not inferior in Learning to *Turnebus*. I believe, that, take all together, he is in the right; for without doubt *Bodin* was better skilled in the Civil-Law, Politics, and Modern History, than *Turnebus*; but he was inferior to him in Critical and Philological Learning; now the Book in dispute belongs to that kind of Knowledge,

[D] Here follows the List of his other Books.] He published his *Method of History* in the Year 1566, and his Discourse on Coins, together with his Answer to the *Paradoxes* of *Maletroit*, concerning the advance of the Price of every thing, and the means to remedy it, in the Year 1568. His Republic was printed in Folio in the Year 1576, and several times afterwards in 8vo (7), and got him a very great Reputation. *Mornac* speaks of it in these terms:

Jani Bodini Gallicam Rempublicam
 Qui viderit, majus nihil fatebitur
 In erudita luce prisca sæculi.
 Gallis hic, olim quod Quiriti Tullius.

Whoever reads John Bodin’s Republic in French, will own, that the bright Learning of the Antients produced nothing greater. He is to the French, what Tully once was to the Romans:

‘ The President *Thuanus* speaks no less advantageously of that Work; tho’ he speaks less advantageously of the Author, accusing him of Vanity, which he calls the Vice of the *Angevins* (8). *Oppian* magnum de Republica Gallicæ publicavit: in quo, ut omni scientiarum genere, non tincti, sed imbuti ingenii fidem fecit, sic nonnullis, qui recte judicant, non omnino ab ostentationis innato genti vitio vacuum se probavit. — He published in French a large work, concerning a Commonwealth, in which as he gave proofs of a not superficial, but solid, Skill in all kinds of Learning, so he shewed to a few, who judge well, that he was not free from the innate fault of his Nation, Vanity. These great Encomiums on *Bodin*’s Republic, put me in mind to impart to my Readers, what I heard *Mr Naudé* say once: That *Aristotle*’s Rhetoric, *Scaliger*’s Poetic, *Charron*’s Wisdom, and *Bodin*’s Republic, were, of all Books, those that were writ with most Art. In 1578, *Bodin* published his Tables of the Law, intitled, *Juris universi Distributio*. They were printed at Lyons by *John de Tournes*, for *James Dupuy* Bookseller of Paris. In the Dedication of his *Method of History*, he makes mention of that Work in these Terms: *Juris universi formam sic adumbravimus in Tabula quam tibi exhibuimus spectandam, ut ab ipsis causis summa genera, generumque partitionem ad infima deduceremus: ea tamen ratione, ut omnia membra inter se apta cohererent. In quo verissimè à Platone dictum intellexi, nihil difficilius ac divinius, quàm recte parti.* — I have sketched out

videbim (6)
 117 ut msh
 118 q. 11111

(6) See Colomesius’s Gallia Orientalis, pag. 83. See also Richterus. Letters, pag. 205.

(7) See the Remark [N], Citation (48).

(8) Menage is mistaken; for Thuanus means the French in general, and not the Angevins in particular.

he set forth many impious things. 'His Reputation for a learned Man, and a fine Genius, excited the Curiosity of Henry III [E], who loved Men of Letters, and was pleased with their Conversation (d). Henry III therefore sent for Bodin; and as his Conversation was delightful (for he had read much and remembered all that he had read) Henry was mightily pleased with him. He had at first so great an esteem for him, that he imprisoned John de Serre, who had wrote an abusive Libel against Bodin, forbidding him on Pain of Death to publish that Piece (e). But his Favour was of no long Continuance. His Enviars soon did him such ill Offices with the King as took off the Regard he had for him. Seeing himself courted at that time by Francis of France, Duke of Alençon and Anjou, Brother of the Kings Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III, he went to him. The Duke of Alençon made him Secretary of his Commands, one of the Masters of the Requests of his Palace, and Chief Justice in Eyre *, and carried him into England and Flanders, as one of his chief Counsellors. While he was in England, he had the Satisfaction and Honour to see his Books of the Republic, which the English had translated into Latin, publicly read in the University of Cambridge [F]. This obliged him to translate them afterwards into Latin. — The History of Flanders takes notice that it was he, who advised the Duke of Alençon to seize Antwerp. After the Death of the Duke of Alençon, which happened a little after the Enterprize

(d) Menage, ibid. pag. 145.

(e) See the Remark [O], Citation (69).

* See the Abbot le Laboureur, pag. 385, of his 11d Vol. of Mémoires of Castelnau.

'the form of the whole Civil-Law in the Table I presented for your perusal in such a manner, that I have deduced the biggest Genera from their very causes, and followed the Division of the Genera to the very lowest Species. Yet so as that all the Parts aptly cohere. I experienced the Truth of this Saying of Plato, that nothing is harder or more divine than to divide aright. Afterwards in 1579, he published his *Demonomanie des Sorciers*, which he dedicated to Christopher Thuanus, first President of the Parliament of Paris; at the end whereof, he added a Refutation of the Book de Lamiis writ by John Wierus, Physician to the Duke of Cleves. In 1576, he had published a Relation of the States of Blois. That Relation was printed, but without the Author's Name. And a little before his Death he wrote his *Theatre de la nature universelle*. Besides all these Books he wrote a Dialogue concerning Religions, which has not yet been printed, intituled *Heptapleron, sive de Abditis rerum sublimium arcanis*. In that Dialogue he gave the advantage to the Jewish Religion; which made many People believe, that he was a Jew — In the sixth Chapter of his *Method of History*, he makes mention of his Book de Decretis. Sed hæc uberius in libro, de Decretis disseruimus. — But I have spoken more at large of these things in a Book de Decretis. That Book is not printed. He ordered by his Will (of which I have seen the Original) that his Books de Imperio, & Jurisdictione, & Legis Actionibus, & Decretis, & Judiciis, should be burnt, which was done before his Death in his presence. Augur Ferrier de Toulouse, a Physician and Astronomer, and John de Serre of Montpellier, and Peter de l'Hospital wrote against him. He answered them under the Name of René Herpin, who was a Man of the City of Angers (9). Mr Teissier ascribes to him the French Version of the Latin Speech, made by Charles des Cars, Bishop of Langres, to the Embassadors of Poland in the City of Metz, in the Year 1573 (10). 'Et Consilium de principe recte instituendo, & paradoxon quod nec virtus ulla in mediocritate, nec summum hominis bonum in virtutis actione consistere possit, & historica narratio profectionis & inaugurationis Alberti & Isabellæ Austriæ Archiducum, & eorum in Belgio adventus (11). — Advice for the good Education of a Prince, and a Paradox that there is no Virtue in Mediocrity, nor the chief Good of Man in the Exercise of Virtue, and an Historical Narration of the Journey, and Inauguration of Albert, and Isabella, Arch-Duke, and Arch-Duchess, of Austria; and their arrival in the Low-Countries.' He is mistaken as to this last Book; for Bodin died before that Journey of the Arch-Duke Albert and the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia.

As for the Manuscript which Mr Menage calls *Heptapleron*, &c. of which Mr Huet spoke in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, as of an abominable Book (12), I refer to the *News from the Commonwealth*

of Learning (13), to avoid repetitions. Mr Teissier is mistaken when he says, that Mr Diecman published that Work of Bodin at Leipsic (14). He ought to have said, that many Particulars concerning that Book, are to be found in a *Schediasma inaugurale* &c. An Inaugural Oration on the Naturalism of sundry Persons, but especially John Bodin, published by Mr Diecman, at Kiel, in the Year 1683, and reprinted in the Year following at Leipsic in 12mo, and at Jena in 4to 1700.

[§ 'Tis known that Bodin followed the Duke of Anjou, into the Low-Countries. Busbeck, in the fifteenth Epistle of his Embassy to France, says, that of three different Accounts, which appeared in 1583, immediately after the attempt of that Duke upon Antwerp, the second, which was in French, and in form of a Letter, went for Bodin's. REM. CRIT.]

[E] His Reputation for a learned Man, and fine genius, excited the Curiosity of Henry III.] Thuanus relates this in a manner very glorious for Bodin. 'Dum hæc scriberet à Rege Henrico III, qui literatis disceptationibus per otium oblebatur, ad familiare secretum cum plerisque aliis viris doctis sæpius est admittus, magnamque laudem ex iis reportavit, quippe qui ingenium in numerato haberet, & paratum ad omnia, quæ proponerentur pulcherrimarum rerum copiam qua pollebat acrimonia memoria effunderet (15). That is to say, according to Mr Teissier's Translation: 'Whilst he was composing that Book, King Henry III, who, at his leisure Hours, took delight in the Conversation of the Learned, discoursed several times with him in the presence of some Learned Men, and those Conferences procured him great Honour; for having a ready Wit, and all the Treasures of his Mind as it were in present Money, he produced a prodigious number of curious Things, which his excellent Memory supplied him with extempore.' This Narrative of Thuanus contains an Anachronism, which Mr Menage should have rectify'd, but on the contrary has adopted. Thuanus pretends, that Bodin continued still in favour with Henry III, when that Author was about his *Demonomanie*. He supposes also that Bodin, when he found himself out of favour, apply'd to the Duke of Alençon, and obtained an honourable Post in his House. This is confounding times. He had not undertaken to write the Book intituled *de la Demonomanie des Sorciers*, but in consequence of a Judgment that had been given against a Witch, to which he had been called the thirtieth of April 1578 (16), and he was Master of the Requests, and Counsellor to the Duke of Alençon, in the Year 1571 (17). Hereafter (18) we shall see a Passage of Thuanus, which will inform us, that Bodin's Conduct in the States of Blois, in the Year 1576, lost him the King's favour.

[F] The Satisfaction and Honour to see his Books, of the Republic, read in the University of Cambridge.] I have often observed, that, in order to reduce within due bounds, the Ideas which Authors give of the glorious Prosperity of Persons they speak of, it is necessary to consult, that very Man, on whom they be-

(13) June 1684. Art. iii.

(14) Teiss. Adit. aux Elog. pag. 250. Edit. 1696.

(15) Thuanus, lib. exviii. p. 77.

(16) Bodin, Preface to his *Demonomanie*.

(17) Id. de Republica, lib. i. cap. x. pag. 255. Edit. Uriel. 1603.

(18) In the Remark [I].

(9) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 142, 143.

(10) Du Verdier vau-Privas mentions it, pag. 654, of his Bibliothèque Française.

(11) Teiss. Adit. aux Elog. Tom. II. p. 249.

(12) Mr Menage in the Life of Ayrault, pag. 143, cites three Passages out of it.

prize upon *Antwerp*, Bodin finding himself frustrated in his Hopes resolved to retreat. He retired to *Laon*, where he married the Sister of a Magistrate [G]. He had an Office in the Presidial Court of That City [H], and it was probably on account of that Office, that he was deputed in the Year 1576, by the third State of *Vermandois*, to the States of *Blois*: though, in his Account of those States, he styles himself only Deputy of the third State of *Vermandois* (f). He shewed there a very good Disposition to maintain the Rights of the People [I], and he believed that to be the Reason why he did not obtain the Office of Master of Requests, which had been designed for him. He had the Courage strenuously to oppose those who would have had all the King's Subjects forced to profess the Catholic Religion (g). He represented vigorously, that That Request was a Violation of the Edicts, and that such a Violation would necessarily produce a War, which had been so often fatal to all the Kingdom. The Freedom, wherewith he represented this, raised him many Enemies; wherefore perceiving that there was a Combination to make that Petition pass, and that by reason of the fatal Blindness of the King and his Counsellors, those who might have prevented that ill Resolution, durst not say any thing, he abstained from proposing his Opinion, which was prejudicial to himself, and could do no good to the Public (b). Some Cities complained, that he had gone beyond his Commission, by opposing that Request; but the King's Council, who examined those Complaints, discharged him (i). Every body knows, that in the

Ragguagli

(f) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 146.

(g) Thuanus, lib. lxxiii. pag. 183. ad ann. 1576. See the Remark [I].

(b) Thuanus is guilty of a Contradiction, and has refuted this himself: See the end of the Remark [I].

(i) Ex Thuanus ibid. See the Remark [I].

(19) That is, to translate his Republic into Latin.

(20) Bodinus Epist. Dedicat. Libror. de Republic. the Latin Edition.

(21) Sammarth. Eleg. lib. iv. pag. 93.

(22) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 146.

(23) Id. ibid. pag. 147, 148.

flow so much Glory; and then we find that tho' he is not sparing of his own Praises, yet what he says is sufficient to rectify the Hyperboles of his Historians. Bodin will not be so clear an instance of this, as I could wish; however, I may say, that his Expressions are not so distinct as those of *Sammarthanus*. See here what he says: 'Tametsi nova occasione ad id (19) maxime impulsus essem, cum Londini Olybium Gallum hominem in privatis illustrium virorum ædibus; alium item apud Cantabriges in ipsa Academia difficili ac molesta ratione Anglis Rempubicam nostram interpretari comperissem (20). — Tho' I was principally moved to it on a new occasion, having understood that Olybium a Frenchman explained my Republic in private Families of great Men at London; and another Person at Cambridge, in the University itself, after a difficult and troublesome Manner.' Those who know that there are private and public Lectures in the Colleges of the Universities of England, will find that *Sammarthanus* goes beyond Bodin; for he says positively, that Bodin's Republic was explained at Cambridge in the publick Auditories: 'Quem (Andium ducem) in Angliam secutus, cum illic E SUGGESTU PUBLICO sua scripta juvenibus enarrari comperisset, ex hoc inusitata gloriolæ proventu non mediocrem vigiliarum suarum fructum sibi visus est collegisse (21). — When he followed him [the Duke of Anjou] into England, finding that his Writings were explained to the youth at THE PUBLIC LECTURES, he thought he had reaped an extraordinary fruit of his Lucubrations, in this small Crop of uncommon Glory.' Mr Menage has followed the same Notion. [G] He retired to Laon, where he married.] 'He married Frances Trouilliant, the Widow of Claudius Guyart, Comptroller of the King's Demesnes in *Vermandois*, and Sister of Nicolas Trouilliant the King's Attorney in the Bailiwick, and Presidial Court of Laon. The Contract of his Marriage is dated February 25, 1576 (22). This date shews, that it is necessary to rectify Mr Menage's Narrative. I have followed it, but it was with a design to shew the defect of it in this place. Mr Menage supposes that Bodin went into England, and into the Low-Countries, with the Duke of Alençon, before the Year 1576; he will have it also, that the Duke of Alençon's Death happened before the same Year; but it is a great falsity. That Duke went into England in the Year 1579. He returned thither in the Year 1582. He attempted to make himself Master of *Antwerp* in the Year 1583, and he died the Year following. Menage should not therefore have said, that Bodin, being frustrated in his hopes after the Death of That Prince, retired to Laon, and married there; but that he returned home to Laon, where he had married in the Year 1576. Note, that he had three Children by his Wife, two Sons, *Elias* and *John*, and one Daughter. He out-lived *Elias*, and *John* died young and unmarried. The Daughter fell distracted, was never married, and lived above Eighty Years (23).

[H] He had an Office in the Presidial Court of Laon.] 'Thuanus says in the Hundred and seventeenth Book of his History, that he was Lieutenant-General there. Mr Menard says in his Illustrations Men of Anjou, that he was the King's Attorney there. Mr Joly in his Notes upon Loyseau's Dialogue concerning the Advocates of Paris, and Mr de Mezeray in his History of France, both of them say that he was the King's Advocate there. *Sammarthanus* in the Elogy of Bodin, says in general, that he was a Magistrate there. It is certain, that he was the King's Attorney there in the room of his Brother-in-law, the Sieur Trouilliant. He says in his Will, that he is one of the poorest Attorneys of the King of France (24). Observe, That Thuanus supposes that he had not the Lieutenant-General's Place till after the Death of the Duke of Alençon.

[I] He shewed a very good Disposition to maintain the Rights of the People.] 'To use the words of Mr Mezeray. He remonstrated there with the Freedom of an old Gaul, that the Funds of the Royal Demesnes belonged to the Provinces, and that the King had only the use of them. King Henry III did not take this ill, saying, that Bodin was an honest Man. See Bodin's Relation. He also remonstrated there, that the Deputies of two Bodies could decide nothing to the prejudice of the third: And upon his Remonstrance, the Deputies of the Ecclesiastical Order, and of the Nobility, who had been of the contrary Opinion, changed their Mind: which made King Henry III say, that Bodin was that Day Master of the States. See the seventh Chapter of the third Book of Bodin's Republic (25). See also the Latin Letter which he wrote to Pibrac, prefixed to the French Editions of his Republic, and you will find there what follows: 'Res ipsa planum fecit, me in legatione ad Gallias conventus pro populi commodis adversus potentiorum opes, non sine capitis mei periculo, dimicavisse: ac primum omnium ne bella civilia, popularis fundi calamitas, renovarentur, acerrimè restituisse: deinde authorem fuisse ne quis è numero legatorum cooptaretur, qui populi rogationibus judicandis interesset: contra quam ab omnibus ordinibus, una omnium voce decretum erat, cum res ipsa popularis ac speciosa videretur, esset tamen à populi commodis valde aliena: ego ad collegium pontificum & patricios ire jussus, ordinis nostri decreto, illos à proposita susceptaque sententia deduxi. Cum verò prædia publica sub hastâ vendere, & quidem alienatione sempiternâ, ac tributa duplicare specie levandæ plebis propositum esset, idque modis omnibus tentaretur, nos tanto studio intercessimus, ut cum nihil obtineri potuisset, Rex ipse Homaro Burdegalsium Præsede, Dureto Præsede Molineorum, Ripuario Aquitanias sindico, ac plerisque aliis audientibus dixerit, Bodinum ab ejus commodis non modò dissentire, verumetiam collegarum voluntates ac studia à se avertere consuevit. Si tamen procurator regius tunc fu-

issem,

Ragguagli of Boccalini, he was condemned to be burnt, as an Atheist, *notorio Atheista*, for having said in his Books on a Republic, that Liberty of Conscience ought to be granted to Sectaries (k). 'The Abbot le Laboureur, says in the 'Three hundred Eighty fifth Page of the second Volume of his *Castelnau*, that 'he had been Lieutenant-General of the *Table of Marble* (l). It is certain, that in the

(k) Ragguagli di Parnallo, Centur. 1. cap. lxiv. pag. 195.

(l) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 146.

'issem, non aliter sentirem: quia necesse est si
'lien intumescat, ut caput ipsum, ac cætera
'membra contabescant; quid igitur facere decuit
'plebis legatum? Cum autem nullis illecebris fle-
'cti potuisssem, omnes penè Viromanduorum ci-
'vitates, quæ me absentem, & certè repugnan-
'tem, communibus suffragiis elegerant, literis quo-
'rundam persuasæ, procuratores ad conventus mi-
'serunt, ut Bodinum, si fieri posset, à suscepta
'legatione revocarent, quasi qui duplices in Re-
'publica religiones tueretur: sed non prius pro-
'curatorias tabulas in comitio aperuerant, quam
'summa cum ignominia explosi fuere. Ex eo ta-
'men quantum detrimenti meis rationibus alla-
'tum sit, satis intelligunt, qui sæpius audierunt
'libellorum in regia magistrum me designatum à
'Principe antea fuisse. — *The thing itself shows*
'plainly, that, during my deputation to the States of
'France, it was not without hazard of my Life,
'that I had contended for the Privileges of the Peo-
'ple against the Power of the great, and first that
'I made a strong resistance, against renewing the
'Civil-Wars, the destruction of the Peoples substance;
'then, that I was the occasion that no body was
'chosen from among the Deputies, to be present at
'judging the Bills of the People, contrary to what
'had been resolved by the Unanimous Voice of all
'the States; the thing seeming specious and popular,
'but being in reality contrary to the Interest of the
'People. I being ordered by a Decree of our State,
'to go to the College of Ecclesiastics, and to the No-
'bility, brought them over from their former Resolu-
'tions. And when it was proposed to set the Public
'Lands to sale, and alienate them for ever, and dou-
'ble the Taxes, on pretence of easing the common
'People, and all means were tried to bring this a-
'bout, I opposed it so earnestly, that, when nothing
'could be done, the King himself declared in the
'presence of Homar, President of Bourdeaux, and
'Duret, President of Molin, and Ripuar, Syndic of
'Aquitain, and several others, that Bodin was not
'only himself averse from his Interest, but also used
'to turn the inclinations of his Colleagues against
'him. But, tho' I had been the King's Attorney,
'at that time I could not have been of another mind:
'because if the Spleen grows too big, the Head it-
'self, and other Members, must of necessity pine a-
'way: what then could a Deputy of the People do?
'But when I could not be moved by any Allurements,
'almost all the Cities of Virmandois, who had chosen
'me by common Suffrage in my absence, and against
'my Will, persuaded by letters from certain Persons,
'sent their Attornies to the States, to recal Bodin if
'possible from the Office he had undertaken, as one
'who was for two Religions in the State, but their
'Letters of Procuration were no sooner opened in the
'Assembly, than they were rejected with the great-
'est Ignominy. What detriment this was to my
'affairs is well known to those who have often heard
'that I was before nominated by the King, to be
'Master of Requests in his Palace.'

What Thuanus says, concerning these same things, is most glorious for Bodin. He says, That the Resolutions of the States having been presented to the King, it was proposed to the Third State, to appoint Twelve Commissioners to assist at the Examination, that was to be made of those Resolutions in the King's Council (26). This was approved at first; but when the thing was examined again, Bodin was of Opinion, that no such thing ought to be done, and advised his Colleagues not to nominate any Deputy, and to oppose the Deputations which the Clergy and the Nobility intended to make. He was sent to the other two Houses, and shewed them by several Reasons how dangerous it was to commit the Decision of what had been asked by the three States of the Kingdom to a small number of Persons; that tho' the Commissioners should be proof against Bribes, yet the King's Presence might intimidate them, and the Sollicitations and

Cabals of the Courtiers seduce them. He was answered, he made a Reply, and at last gained his Cause by the firmness wherewith he gave them to understand, that the Third State would oppose their Deputations. Henry III was vexed at this, and bore Bodin an ill-will for it. 'Itaque Rex Bodinum, quem unice diligebat, & ob raram eruditionem ac multam variarum rerum experientiam, dum cibum caperet, libenter audiebat, ab eo tempore non tam benigno vultu dignatus est, quod ordinib. prioris sententiæ mutandæ auctor extitisset, & ea in re quantum ad circumagenda ordinum ingenia momenti haberet, minus grato regi experimento docuisset (27). — Bodin was a particular Favourite of the King, and he loved to hear him when he was at Table, for his extraordinary Learning, and great experience in various things; but, from this time, he looked less favourably on him, because he had persuaded the States to change their former Opinion, and shewed in that affair, by an experiment, no ways pleasing to the King, of what consequence he was to sway the dispositions of the States.' That Prince caused it to be represented to the States that he was under a necessity of alienating part of his Demesnes; 'Necessitate, quæ potentissimum telum est, urgente, id licere contenderet, quippe cum conllet, salutem populi supremam legem esse debere (28). — He insisted, that since necessity, that most powerful weapon, urged, the thing might be done; because it was certain, that the safety of the People ought to be the supreme Law; but they rejected that Proposal, and it was Bodin chiefly, who brought them to that Resolution; for the most considerable Deputies being corrupted with promises were already wavering. 'Pessimum de dominio affectatæ necessitatis obtentu alienando commentum, Bodino præcipue auctore (nam præcipui jam promissis corrupti nutabant) evanuit, quod si locum tunc habuisset, sub principe profuso misere dilapidatum fuisset (29). — That wicked contrivance of alienating the Royal Demesnes, on pretence of feigned necessity, came to nothing, chiefly by the means of Bodin, (for the most considerable being corrupted with promises were already wavering) if the design had succeeded at that time, miserable waste would have been made under that profused Prince. The same Bodin stoutly opposed the Cabals of the Party of Messieurs de Guise, who would have had the War against the Huguenots (30) resolved on. We may infer from this that Mezerey is mistaken, when he asserts, that the King praised Bodin for opposing the alienation of the Demesnes. He confounds two things which he should have distinguished. Bodin's Conduct was approved by the King's Council, when some Cities complained that he had opposed the Proposal of not suffering two Religions in the Kingdom; 'Homines à factiosis subornati venerunt, qui Bodinum contra mandata sua intercessisse dicerent, quibus in consistorio regio auditis, nihilominus pronunciatum est, Bodinum nihil nisi recte fecisse (31). — There came Men suborned by the factious, who said that Bodin had interposed contrary to his Orders; they had a bearing in the King's Council, but nevertheless it was declared, that Bodin had done nothing amiss; this happened before the two Affairs which we have just now read in the passage of Thuanus, and which made Bodin lose King Henry III's favour. Let us also observe a Contradiction of Thuanus. He says, Page 183, that, when Bodin perceived that his Remonstrances against the Combinations of those, who were for infringing the Edicts of Pacification, would be in vain, he abstained from speaking about that matter. 'Cum videret homo futuri providus conjuratione facta eò animos inclinare, & fatali Regis ac consiliariorum ejus cœcitate effici, ut ab illis, qui prohibere poterant, præpostera prudentia in ea re dissimularetur, hujusmodi publicis sibi pernicio-

(27) Thuanus, lib. lxiii. p. 187.

(28) Id. ibid.

(29) Id. ibid. pag. 183. col. 1.

(30) Id. ibid. col. 2.

(31) Id. ibid. pag. 183.

(26) Thuanus, lib. lxiii. p. 187.

(m) Menage, ib.
pag. 147.

(n) Dated from
Laon the 29th of
January 1590.
Id. ibid.

'time of Charles IX he was the King's Attorney, in a Commission for the Forests of Normandy [K]. He had been a Protestant, 'yet in 1589 he persuaded the Inhabitants of Laon to declare for the Duke of Mayenne [L]; remonstrating to them, that the Rising of so many Cities, and of so many Parliaments in favour of Messieurs de Guise, ought not to be called a Rebellion, but a Revolution (m); and at that time he printed a Letter on That Subject (n). — He died of the Plague at Laon, in 1596 — in his Sixty seventh Year [M], and was buried in

(32) Id. ibid.

'fis & in publicum nihil profuturis admonitionibus deinceps abstinit (32) — When, he who was a Man of great foresight, perceived that, by Combination amongst them, they all leaned that way, and that the fatal blindness of the King, and his Council, made those who could have hindered it, out of a preposterous Prudence, dissemble in the matter, he abstained from such public Remonstrances, which were hurtful to himself, and not like to profit the public. But in Pag. 188, he tells us that this same Civilian vigorously opposed the Faction of Messieurs de Guise, even when the Resolutions of the States had been presented to the King, and it seemed that the Commission of the Deputies was expired. The Opposition was concerning the design of renewing the War against the Protestants. The Partisans of the Duke of Guise had gained the Clergy and the Nobility; those two Bodies had several private Meetings to put off the Proposals of Peace. Bodin, who, because the Deputies of Paris were absent, was then at the head of the Third State, opposed those practices with great Courage (33); and when they told him that the thing had been thus resolved upon in the States, and that the Assembly had no longer any Authority; he answered them boldly, you are then a company of Rebels, since you acknowledge that your Deputation is ended, and yet you do not leave off meeting together: But I am of another Opinion, we may yet present a Petition to the King; the Assemblies wherein they treated of the Peace at Rome, were not required to be so solemn as those wherein the beginning of the War was in agitation: 'Et cum illi ita in comitiis conventum dicerent, & postulatis semel Regi oblatis nullas ordinum partes esse, quippe extinctis mandatis, audacter respondit, in perduellionis crimine ipsos incurrere, qui cum potestatem agendi vel propria confessione non habeant, tamen cotidie conventicula celebrent, verum se aliter censere, & licere adhuc Regi supplicare. Nam ut &c (34). It was necessary that I should shew Thuanus's contradiction; for he had considerably lessened Bodin's Reputation without any Reason.

(34) Id. ibid.

[K] He was the King's Attorney in a Commission for the Forests of Normandy.] Master John Bodin, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, persuaded King Charles IX, that the Right of Tiers and Danger, was a general Right over all the Forests of Normandy, and took the care of that Inquiry upon himself, as the King's Attorney for the Reformation. There was hardly any Family in the Province, but what he proceeded against. He himself says in his Writings, that he made Four hundred Cases ready for Trial: And he carried the matter so far, that there was nothing wanting for the Execution of his Design, but the actual Dispossession of all those, who had any Forests. All Normandy was in commotion at his Undertaking, and the Parliament met, several times, about that matter: They appointed Deputies; and the Nobility followed their Example. At last the King was moved with their Complaints, and convinced by the Reasons which were presented to him. And to put a stop to that Search, which had lasted several Years, he made an Edict in the Year 1571, whereby he ordered the Alienation of the Rights of Tiers and Danger, which belonged to him, on the Forests of Normandy; and he acknowledged by that same Edict, that those Forests were but few, and that the Revenue which he drew from them, was considerable. Bodin, who could not yield, opposed the registering of it: But the King set forth a Declaration, whereby, without having any regard to his Opposition and Protestations, which he declared void, he ordered it to be put in execution (35). I thought this Passage deserved to be set down at length: First, Because it contains a

(35) Gréard, defenses pour les particuliers qui possèdent des bois en Normandie, contre la prétention des Droits de Tiers & Danger, apud Menage, ubi supra, p. 146, 147.

fact that is curious, and but little known. Secondly, Because it serves to discover Bodin's Temper, I mean, his Ardour, his Activity, his Vigilance, and his Steadiness.

He himself tells us some Circumstances of his Proceedings, which will confirm the thing. 'And I remember, that Charles IX having ordered his Letters Patents, in the Year MDLXX, for a general Regulation of the Waters and Forests in Normandy, which drew after it the Cognizance of the finest part of his Demesne, the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament of Roan were forbidden to take any Cognizance of it: And altho' they used all possible Endeavours to prevent that Prohibition, yet they at last agreed to it, after I had presented to them several Repeated Commands from the King, and sued xxii Counsellors, and the first President severally for Cases resulting from the Commission, and the whole City of Roan, for the Rights which they claimed against the King, and which was the Reason why I obtained the Prohibition (36).'

[L] He had been a Protestant; yet, in 1589, he persuaded the Inhabitants of Laon to declare for the Duke of Mayenne.] Mr Menage says, that he discovered that Bodin was a Protestant, by one of his Letters to John Baurtr des Matras, a famous Advocate in the Parliament of Paris (37). Mr Colomies published part of that Letter in his Gallia Orientalis (38). It is as clear as day, that it is a Letter from a good Huguenot: It is not dated; it appears only that it was written after the first Civil-War; I mean, that which was ended in the Month of March, 1563. Thuanus says, that the League, having sent Orders to Laon, not to acknowledge King Henry III any more; Bodin, who had been a Protestant, and who was never since an Enemy to the Reformed Religion, praised the Conduct of the League, and by the Bishop's Advice made a Speech to the People, and removed the Scruples and Fears of the Inhabitants (39). He did not scruple to call the King a perfidious Man, and an Hypocrite, nor to foretel him mischief; he is, said he, the Sixty third King of France, and he shall be the last: as the Climatrical Year Sixty three is commonly the last of Human Life. In this manner he stirred up the City of Laon to join with the Leaguers: He writ a Letter on that (40) Subject, which was printed (41). Thus the Nicodemites do sometimes more harm than an open Enemy; they know that they are suspected, and therefore for fear of being undone, if they do not remove those Suspicions, they shew more Zeal for the prevailing Party, than those who have already given sufficient Proofs of the same Zeal. Observe these Words of Thuanus: *Videri regem huius regno Francico fatalem, & ultimum ex ea familia fore. — The King seemed fatal to this Kingdom of France, and would be the last of that Family.* What did Bodin mean by this Prognostication? Did he pretend that Henry III should be the last King of the Branch of Valois? He needed be no great Prophet to foretel that, of a Prince, who was the only one remaining of that Branch, and was married to a young Woman that was barren. Did he pretend that no Prince of the third Race should ascend the Throne after Henry III? In that case the Event has given him the lye; and yet Thuanus makes a great Account of Bodin's Predictions. He repaired that (42) Fault by an admirable Prediction of the unhoped for Issue of those Troubles; for though there was no likelihood of a Peace, he published before-hand both the Year and the Month wherein it would be concluded, and the Event answered what he had foretold (43).

[M] He died — — — in 1596 — — — in his Sixty seventh Year.] He says in his Will, dated

(36) Bodin de la Republique, lib. iii, cap. ii. pag. 381. See also the VIth Chapter of the VIth Book, pag. 1031.

(37) Menage, ubi supra, pag. 147.

(38) Pag. 76. &c seq.

(39) Thuan. lib. xciv. pag. 262. ad ann. 1589.

(40) To President Brisson.

(41) Thuanus, lib. xciv. p. 262.

(42) He means the Fault which Bodin committed, by saying many things that were injurious to King Henry III, and to the King of Navarre.

(43) Id. lib. cxvii. pag. 771, cited by Teissier addit. Tom. II. the pag. 247.

in the Church of the *Franciscans* in the same City, as he had ordered by his Will (o). He had been a *Carmelite* in his Youth, if we may believe *Thuanus*; but Mr *Baudry*, Advocate in the Great-Council, and Grand Nephew of Bodin, told Mr Menage several times, that *Thuanus* had been misinformed in That Particular (p). It seems to me, that there is as much Exaggeration in the Praises which *Gabriel Naudé* bestowed upon Bodin, as Injustice in the Contempt which *Cujacius*, *Scaliger*, and some others have treated him with [N]. *Possessin* is not the only Man, who accuses

(o) Id. ibid. pag. 148.

(p) Id. ibid. pag. 141.

(44) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 147.

(45) At Moreri, Hofman, Bucholcerus in indice Chronol. p. 682. Paul Freherus in Theatro, p. 895, & Saldenus Ot. Theol. p. 797. who does not know that our Bodin is the Author of the Dialogues de abditis rerum sublimium arcanis.

(46) Thuanus, lib. cxvii. pag. 771.

(47) Menard, cited by Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 147.

† In lib. de strigilib.

‡ In Iudicio librorum Bodini.

(48) Naudé Apolog. des grans hommes, cap. vii. pag. 127.

(49) Naudé, Avis pour dresser une Bibliothèque pag. 96.

(50) See above, Citation (9).

(51) Pag. 513, & seq. in Edit. Rotterdam. 1691, in 4to.

(52) It was in 1576. Bongars was lately come from Germany to study the Civil Law under Cujacius.

(53) Taken from Bongars's Letter to Conrad Rittershusius, published by Colomelius, in his Gallia Orientalis.

the seventh of June, 1596, that he was above Sixty-six Years of Age (44); which confutes those who say, that he died in the Year 1585 (45), and those who affirm that he lived above Seventy Years (46), or that he lived but Fifty-five Years (47). Note, that the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Universæ Naturæ Theatrum*, is dated from Laon the Twenty fifth of February, 1596. This is a little mortifying to those who place his Death in the Year 1585.

[N] As much Exaggeration in the Praises which *Gabriel Naudé* bestows on him as Injustice in the Contempt which *Cujacius*, *Scaliger*, and some others have treated him with.] *Naudé* made this Judgment of Bodin, in a Book which he published in 1625. 'This first Man of France, *John Bodin* ----- after having, with a wonderful quickness of Wit, accompanied with a solid Judgment, treated of all Subjects Divine, Natural, and Civil, would perhaps have forgot that he was a Man, and would infallibly have been taken by us for a Superior Intelligence, if he had not left some Marks and Foot-steps of his Humanity in his *Demonomanie*, which was, as the late most Serene King of Great-Britain well observed †, *majori collecta studio quam scripta judicio*: collected with more pains than wrote with Judgment. Perhaps the Reason of it is, Because that great Genius, who understood the Holy Language very well, applied himself, more than was requisite, to the Doctrine of the *Rabbies* and *Talmudists*, quibus, as the Jesuit *Possessin* observes ‡, *hoc libro tam videtur additus, ut ad eos sæpius recurrat quam ad Evangelium* (48). — To whom he seems so addicted that he often recurs to them in this Book, than to the Gospel. In 1627, *Naudé* published his Advice how to erect a Library, and observed that if there be any Question about Bodin's Republic it must be inferred, that it ought to be taken in, because the Author was one of the most famous and renowned Men in his Age, and who, among the Moderns, treated first of that Subject, because the matter of it is very necessary, and very much sought after at this present time, and because the Book is common, translated into several Languages, and printed almost every five or six Years (49). Add to this, what he said to Mr Menage (50), and what he published in his *Bibliographia politica* (51), where he does not seem to be in cool Blood when he praises Bodin, but rather to be seized with the most violent Rapture, that ever raised the Hyperboles of Poets to the Skies. It being a book which may easily be had, and the Passage concerning Bodin containing many Lines, I refer my Readers to it, and shall copy nothing out of it.

Now let us speak of *Cujacius*'s Contempt. We are informed by a Letter from Bongars, that *Cujacius* having heard that he was censured in Bodin's Republic, and not being able to find that Book at the Booksellers, he borrowed it of Bongars (52), and some Days after, he declaimed against Bodin, above two Hours. That Lecture of *Cujacius* was sent to Bodin, and obliged him to put a Latin Epistle before the Second Edition of his Republic, wherein he treated *Cujacius* roughly. But he made good use of his remarks, for he left out in that Edition all that *Cujacius* had censured, eorum quæ *Cujacius* notaverat in ista altera editione nec volam reliquit nec vestigium (53). *Cujacius* answered in the Thirty eighth Chapter of the eighth Book of his Observations, and made use of the Anagram *Andius sine bono*, to denote his Antagonist. See Mr Menage, who observes besides, that Bodin had abused *Cujacius* without naming him, in these Words of the Preface to his Method of History. 'Hostium aspectum ferre non magis possunt, quam is qui in Scholis Biturigum tanta cum gloria florebat: id est, Arabo inter cæcos acutissime cernebat. Cum

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in forum venisset, de levissima questione consultus obmutuit: non sine acerba Riandi reprehensione (54). — They can no more bear the sight of an Enemy than he who flourished with so much Glory, in the Schools of Bourges; that is, an owl among Bats could see clearest. When he came into the Court, being asked a very trifling question, he was speechless: For which he had a very severe reprimand from Riandus. Observe by the by, that Moreri, and several others, who say, that Bodin was called *Andius sine bono*, because of his Poverty, are mistaken, *Cujacius* made no Allusion to Bodin's Fortune in that Anagram; he only considered the Qualities of his mind. A certain Author gives out, that Queen Elizabeth made use of that Expression, speaking to our Bodin, and he quotes *Burgoldensis* (55). He is mistaken in his Quotation, for *Burgoldensis* says only, that she called him *Badin*. 'Homo iste sine bono, five *Badin* (uti illum Elizabetha Angl. Regina appellavit.) licitum esse putat suorum popularium dignitatem honesto mendacio tueri in sua Methodo Histor. c. 4 (56). — That Man without good, or *Badin* [Trifler] (as Elizabeth Queen of England called him) thinks it lawful to keep up the dignity of his own People, by an honest lye, in his Method of History. Another Author pretends, that the disadvantageous manner in which Bodin has spoke of Women, in the fifth Chapter of the sixth Book of the Republic, drew upon him a very sharp Jest ----- Queen Elizabeth, who had otherwise some esteem for him, was pleased to send for him into England, on purpose to send him back with these Words; Bodin, when you see me, learn that you are but a *Badin* (57). A Doctor of Louvain says, that when Bodin was at London, to negotiate the Marriage of his Master Hercules Duke of Alençon (58), the Queen used to call him Master *John Bodin*: Pro Bodino solebat eum Regina Magistrum Joannem Badinum appellare (59). 'Tis not improbable that the Queen might call him so; for at that time the Court was not less fond of Puns than the People; but it is false, that That Princess sent for him over on purpose to mortify him by such a sorry Joke. He was at London in the Retinue of his Master the Duke of Alençon. He was there also in quality of Envoy from the same Duke.

What *Scaliger* said of Bodin, was very disobliging. 'Bodinus patrem Jul. Scaligerum falso ignorantia Matheseos arguit, ipse indoctissimus valdeque jejunos, cum quicquid à multis annis doctrinae consequutus est, transcripserit ex aliorum laboribus, imo & ex meo libello in Varronem de lingua Latina, cujus paginas integras suas fecit fur impudentissimus, & in unum velut chaos congestit, plurima scribens quæ ipse non intelligit. Denique librum de Methodo legendæ historiæ inscripsit, in quo nihil minus quam eâ de re tractat ut titulo suo nullo modo respondeat oratio, quod quidem Verrius Flaccus notavit in Originibus Catonis, quæ nihil minus inquirunt quam Italiæ origines. Porro si quis velit in illum scribere, Je lui dresserai tout son fait: neque enim mihi honoris loco ducam aliquid proferre quod meo nomine circumferatur (60). — Bodin falsely accuses my Father Jul. Scaliger of Ignorance in the Mathematics, being himself very unlearned, and dry, for whatever Learning he has pursued for many Years, he has transcribed out of the Labours of others, even out of my Book, on Varro de Lingua Latinâ, whole pages of which the impudent Thief has made his own, and thrown together like a Chaos, Writing many things which he does not understand. In short, he entitles one of his Books The Method of Reading History, in which he treats of nothing less than that matter, so that his Discourse has no relation at all to his Title: as

(44) Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault, pag. 144.

(55) Dieckmann de Naturalismo, pag. 2.

(56) Burgold, notitia rerum Imperii Romano-Germanici. Part. I. pag. 33.

(57) Ancillon, Mélanges critiques, Tom. II. pag. 5.

(58) Mr Crenius, Animadv. Part. II. p. 93. has no reason to find fault with this Name and this Title.

(59) Libert, Fromondus, Meteorolog. lib. v. cap. i. art. iv. pag. 240.

(60) Scaligerana prima, pag. 30, 31.

(g) See the end
of the Remark
[O].

accuses him of having wrote many things contrary to Religion [O], and some Persons suspected him of Magic (q), or affirmed that he died a Jew (r). Note, (r) See Citation (66). that

as Verrius Flaccus observed of the Origines of Cato, which treat of nothing less than the Antiquities of Italy. If any body would write against him, I'll furnish his matter for him, but do not think it consistent with my Honour to publish any thing against him in my own Name. You see that he calls him a most ignorant Man, and that he would think it a dishonour to answer him. What Arrogance is this! and how ill becoming learned Men, tho' it is very common among them! Let us appeal from this Judgment of Scaliger to that of Tivianus, and if we will not grant that Bodin was an exact and judicious Writer, let us confess however that he had a great Genius, a vast Knowledge, and a prodigious Memory and Reading. The Works, by which he got so much Glory, needed not that he should borrow any thing from a Commentary on Varro; they were not such as could receive any lustre from thence, and there is reason to believe that Scaliger and Cujacius would not have been able to produce what he did with so much Strength at the States of Blois.

[O] Possévin is not the only Man, who accuses him of having writ many things contrary to Religion.] Let us in the first place quote his Panegyrist Naudé, who observes, that those who have writ against Bodin's Republic, were only Pygmies attacking Hercules; so that this Author having nothing to fear from that side, ought only to dread the Censures of the Church. Scio equidem, Fabium Albergatum hominem Italum, & Serrium, ac Augerium Ferrerium, Gallos (61), magnis conatibus, & libris ad id consequendum editis, periculum illi ac ruinam intentasse: sed eventus docuit eundem fuisse istius pugnae eventum, quem Pygmaeorum cum Hercule: ut non jam ad miniatas alicujus Attici aut Hyperattici ceras trepidare debeat, sed ad Ecclesiae solius judicium; cujus censuris quoniam vehementius urgetur, quam inimicorum argumentis, hinc est, quod ipsius libri evolvi minime debeant, nisi oblenta prius & hunc & quolibet auctores politicos legendi facultate (62). — I know that Fabius Albergatus an Italian, and Sirrius and Augerius Ferrerius, two Frenchmen, laboured with all their Might, and published several Books on purpose to bring him into Danger, and to ruin him, but the Event shewed that the Success of this Battle was the same with that of the Pygmies against Hercules, so that now he has no need to stand in Awe of the Writings of any Critic or Hypercritic, but only of the Judgment of the Church; and because her Censures bear harder upon him than the Arguments of his Adversaries, therefore his Books ought not to be read without a Licence first obtained for reading both him and all other Political Authors. A little lower he blames him for having too much exposed the Interests of the true Faith, and in that regard he approves of Possévin's Complaints. Quibus (quæstionibus) certe compescendis dirigendis ad finem Religionis Christianæ præceptis ac instituto consentaneum, sane haud necesse erit diversas inter se Religiones committere; quemadmodum non sine dispendio veræ pietatis superioribus annis fecere, Petrus de Alliaco Cardinalis & Episcopus Cameracensis, in opusculo quodam astrologico de tribus sectis; Hieronymus Cardanus in libris suis de subtilitate; & Joannes Bodinus, composito, sed nondum edito, (atque utinam nunquam edatur) de rerum sublimium arcanis ingenti volumine; quod equidem, Jesuitam Possévinum non perperam de ipso judicium tulisse, argumento esse potest validissimo certe manifestissimoque (63). — For restraining which [questions] and directing them to an end agreeable to the Precepts and Institutions of the Christian Religion, it will not be necessary to compare different Religions one with another, as has been done heretofore, not without Damage to true Piety, by Cardinal Petrus Alliatus Bishop of Cambray in an Astrological Treatise, concerning the three Sects; Cardan in his Book de Subtilitate; and John Bodin in a large Volume, de Rerum Sublimium Arcanis, writ by

him, but not yet published (as I wish it never may), which is a strong and manifest Argument that the Jesuit Possévin had formed no wrong Judgment of him. The Author of the Book de justa Reip. Christianæ in reges impios & hæreticos auctoritate, accuses Bodin of indifferency about Religion, and of being a Favourer of the Protestants. Unius viri indifferentis, & Protestantibus non iniqui testimonio comparationem banc transigam (64). The Jesuit Martin del Rio maintains, that the Demonomanie of Bodin is full of Errors, and that in the very Edition of Antwerp, which was published as corrected, there remained many dangerous things, and which shew the doubtful Religion of the Author; Manent multa noxia, & quæ ambiguum auctoris fidem satis contestantur, nocereque legentibus possunt (65). Wherefore, adds he, that Book was justly placed by the Inquisition of Rome in the Catalogue of prohibited Books. He promises to make it appear, that the Theatrum universæ Naturæ, of the same Author, contains some Doctrines so contrary to Divinity, that they may at least be called erroneous, and altogether rash. Let us observe that his Republic had the same fate at Rome, as his Demonomanie, tho' certain things had been inserted in the Italian Translation, which some officious Friends thought proper, to preserve Bodin's reputation of a good Catholic (66). His Method of History, and his Theatre of Nature had no better fate with the Inquisitors. Here is something terrible: 'Those that get into the Pulpit here, tell Stories, de-claim against Bodin, for a whole Sermon, and tear him in pieces, without calling to mind that the Villain was a Leaguer, and died a Jew, without mentioning JESUS CHRIST in his last Words, which I have in Verse (67).' This is to be found in a Letter of James Gillot to Scaliger, dated from Paris the ninth of February 1607. That which Mr Diceman found in a Manuscript, and which he inserted in his Book de Naturalismo, is yet more terrible. Naudæus in ἀποσπασματι Gallice ex MS. laudati Patini mecum benevole a Viro Nob. communicato, de hoc opere, &c. — Naudæus in a French Abstract from the Famous Patin, kindly communicated to me by a Nobleman, concerning this Work, 'It is a Book well writ, says he, but very dangerous, because he laughs at all Religions, and concludes at last, that there is none: neither had he any himself: He died like a Dog, without any sense of Piety, being neither Jew, Christian, nor Turk. Another uncertain Author in Patin's Manuscript, says, Bodin was a strange Fellow in point of Religion. He died of the Plague at Laon in 1596, being pretty old, and said not one word of JESUS CHRIST when he died (68). I cannot tell whether those that preached against Bodin in the Pulpits of Paris in the Year 1607, had heard any thing of the Dispositions which he shewed when he died, or of the pernicious Doctrines of the Heptaplomeres. Scaliger could not apprehend from whence their Fury proceeded. He writ to Charles l'Abbé, towards the end of the Month of February 1607, the following Words: 'Illud velim ex te scire quare Pontificii tam acerbe quotidie in Bodinum declament. Certe quod mancipium ambitionis fuerit, propterea odio illis esse eum non crediderim. Aliam subesse causam necesse est, quam ex te scire velim. Hujus igitur tam inopinati odii causam, & quare hominem pridem mortuum canes ex tumulo eruant, neque ejus manes quiescere sinant, à vobis exspecto (69). — I desire to know from you, why the Papiests declaim so violently, every Day, against Bodin. Certainly I cannot think they hated him, because he was a Slave to Ambition. There must be some other Reason at Bottom which I would gladly know. I therefore expect to hear from you the Reason of this so unexpected Hatred, and why the Dogs tear, from the Grave, a Man long since dead, and won't suffer his Ashes to be at Peace.' I must not forget that as soon as Bodin's Republic came out, some Preachers exclaimed against him. Read his Latin Letter of the thirtieth of March 1581, at the

(61) Note, that Bodin in the beginning of René Herpin's Apology, mentions not only one O-status Valco (it is he whom Menage calls, above, Citation (g) Peter l'Hottail) but also an Andreas Frankebergerus Saxo, who had wrote against his Republic.

(62) Naudæus Bibliogr. polit. pag. 23, 24.

(63) Naudæus ibid. pag. 33.

(64) G. Guillel. Rossieus de justa Reip. Auctorit. &c. cap. iv. n. 3. pag. 194. Edit. Antwerp, 1592.

(65) Del Rio, Disq. Magic. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 23.

(66) Loscher de latrocinio in script. publ. p. 41. apud Dicemannum de Naturalismo, p. 4.

(67) French Epistles written to Scaliger, pag. 439.

(68) Dicemannus de Naturalismo, pag. 12.

(69) See Colomæus's Gallia Orientalis, pag. 86.

that, tho' he declared freely enough against those who maintain that the Authority of Monarchs is unlimited [P], he displeased the Common-wealth Men. I believe it was (among other Reasons) because on the one hand he maintained, that there were some Absolute Monarchs in Europe, and on the other, That it does not belong to any Subject in particular, nor to all in general, to attempt against the Honour, or the Life, of such Monarchs, either by violent means, or in a juridical way, though they should have committed all the Wickedness, Impieties, and Cruelties that can be named

the beginning of René Herpin's Apology, and you will find that he observes two things in it, the one that *de Serres*, who had published a great deal of abusive Language against him, had been severely punished for it; the other is, that tho' those that slander a Man in the Pulpit, are as guilty as those that offend him in their Writings, yet there are some Preachers, who stain his Reputation, and that of divers other good Men, with impunity. 'Serranus ille qui inaudito genere scribendi, ac probis inusitatis libellum complevit, ipsius principis iussu poenas graves dedit, quam optare potuissent. Ac tametsi eodem scelere obligantur, qui publicis in concionibus nomen cuiusquam laeserunt, videmus tamen legibus solutos, non modò meam, sed etiam optimi cuiusque exultationem impune violare, qui prudentur ferendum putat, quod auferri non potest (70).'

But, among the Roman Catholics, none has expressed more warmth against this Civilian, than the Jesuit *Possévin*. See with what desire of finding fault he scans the *Method of History*, and with what turns of Sophistry he puts an ill Construction upon the Propositions that may have a good sense. His great grief is, that *Bodin* speaks of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and *Melancthon*, in civil Terms, and that he would have some bounds set to the Papal Power (71). But above all, see the little book wherein *Possévin* gives his Judgment *de quatuor Scriptioribus*, *Philippo la Nua*, *Jo. Bodino*, *Philippo Morneo*, & *Nic. Machiavello* (72). He pretended, that *Bodin's Works* contained a great number of Errors, *Hereses*, and *Impieties* (73).

The Protestants have not been silent about this Writer's Errors; for, to say nothing of *Grotius*, who declares, that *Bodin* had very much staggered his Faith by keeping Company with the *Jews* (74). We may cite *Merie Casaubon*, who confesses, that he knows not what to think of this Man's Religion, whether he ought to reckon him among the Catholics, or among the Protestants (75). The *Lutheran* Minister, who informs me of this, carries his doubts much farther, and seems very much disposed to believe that at last *Bodin* lost all sense of Christianity (76). He endeavours particularly to convict him of having reduced all to Natural Religion. Another *Lutheran* Doctor has observed, that there are, in *John Bodin's Physics*, divers things which ought to be abhorred by Christians (77). He observes also, that they are set forth under the Name of *Theodorus*, and that another Person under the Name of *Mythagogus* answers somewhat coldly, *nothing ought to be rashly affirmed on such difficult Subjects, de tam arduis nil temere esse affirmandum*. And indeed I find that *Bodin's Mythagogus*, Page 222 of the *Theatrum Naturæ*, Edition of *Hanaw* 1605, makes this Answer;

'De rebus tam arduis & à communi sensu remotis nec temere quicquam affirmare, nec leviter cuiquam assentiri velim: mihi satis est certissimis argumentis & ad assentiendum necessariis demonstravisse cometas non esse incendia ab exhalationibus concepta. — In such sublime matters, and so remote from common Sense, I would neither rashly affirm any thing, nor easily assent to any body's Opinion: it is enough that I have shown, by unquestionable, and necessarily conclusive, Arguments, that Comets are not Flames, kindled from exhalations.' This Answer relates to a very strange Opinion which *Bodin* had mentioned just before under the Name of *Theodorus*, viz. That Comets are Spirits, who having lived innumerable Ages on Earth, and being at last come near Death, celebrate their last Triumph, or are brought again into the Firmament as shining Stars. This is attended with Famine and Pestilence, &c. because the Cities, and the People, lose the Governours and Chiefs, who appeased the Wrath of GOD. It is necessary that I should set down his Words. 'Democriti sententia in mentem mihi

recurrat, ut existimem cometas esse illustrium virorum mentes, quæ posteaquam innumerabilibus seculis vixerunt in terris, tandem obitura, ut omnia quæ oriuntur occasum minantur, extremos peragunt triumphos, aut in cælum stellatum quasi splendida sydera revocantur: ac propterea sequuntur fames, morbi populares, civilia bella, quasi civitates ac populi ducibus illis optimis & gubernatoribus qui divinos furores placabant, deferrentur (78). It is plain, that there is a fault in the Words *illustrium virorum*; or that *Bodin* gives those Words a very particular Sense; for the common signification, *Illustrious Men*, does not agree with what follows, that is, with those innumerable Ages of Life upon Earth, which *Bodin* ascribes to the Spirits which he mentions. He means therefore *Genii* or Angels, and he supposes them subject to Death. *Vossius* skipped two or three very essential Words, in relating this Passage, *Viguerunt in terris*. Yet he finds an Impiety in it: 'Ubi quod animas mori ait, says he (79), id si non aliud voluit dicere quam verba videntur sonare, sane impietate summa non vacat. Tolerabilius quod ait heroum animas in sidera revocari. — In saying that Spirits die, if he did not mean something else, than what the Words seem to import, it is great Impiety. 'Tis more excusable that he says, the Souls of Heroes are called back to the Stars.' This Omission is in the Edition I make use of, which is that of Germany in 4to. It is also in that of *Amsterdam* in Folio 1668; for Mr *Crenius*, who relates this Passage of *Vossius* (80), with the omission of *viguerunt in terris*, quotes the Edition of *Amsterdam*.

Let us end with these Words of *Thuanus*, which inform us, that it was believed, that *John Bodin* was a Magician: 'Postea & Dæmonomaniam Gallice itidem scripsit, in qua dum materiam ab aliis tantopere agitatam adversus Joannis Wieri plerumque sententiam, enucleatius retractat, magicæ rei ac veterum istiusmodi artium crimen minime effugit (81). — Afterwards he writ his *Dæmonomania* in French likewise, in which, while he treats more explicitly of a matter so much tossed about by others, chiefly against the Opinion of Joannes Wierus, he did not keep clear of the Crime of Magic, and such like forbidden Arts.

[P] He declared freely enough against those who maintain, that the Authority of Monarchs is unlimited.] He maintained, that Monarchs cannot impose Taxes, without the Consent of the People, and that they are more obliged to observe the Laws of GOD, and those of Nature, than their Subjects, and that the Covenants, which they make, impose the same Obligation on them as on their Subjects. He says, that most Civilians had taught the contrary, and that he was the first who durst oppose the Opinion of those, who wrote about the means of extending the Rights of the King. These are his Words: 'Miror tamen esse qui putent unius potestati tribuere me plus aliquantum, quam deceat sortem in Republica civem: cum alibi sæpe, tum verò libro primo, capite octavo, nostræ Reipublicæ, eos ego qui de jure fisci ac regalibus amplificandis scripsere, sententias primus omnium, & quidem periculosissimis temporibus refellere non dubitavi, quod Regibus infinitam supraque divinas & naturæ leges tribuerent potestatem: quid autem magis populare quam quod scribere ausus sum, ne regibus quidem licere, sine summa civium consensione, imperare tributa? aut illud quanti est quod item tradidi principes arctiori vinculo divinis ac naturæ legibus teneri, quam qui sub imperium subiecti sunt? illos etiam pactis conventis perinde ut alios cives obligari? contra quam tamen omnes pene juris scientiæ magistri docuere (82). — But I wonder there are any who think, that I attribute more to the Power of a single Person, than a brave Citizen,

(78) Bodin, in *Theatro Naturæ* lib. ii. pag. 221, 222.

(79) Vossius de *Orig. & Prog. Idol.* lib. iii. cap. ix. p. 774.

(80) Crenii *Animadv. Philolog. & Histor.* Part. II. p. 175.

(81) Thuan. lib. cxvii. pag. 771.

(82) Bodin. *Epist. ad Vidum Fabrum* in *limine operis Gallicæ de Republica*.

(70) Apologie de René Herpin, fol. 2. verso.

(71) Possévin in *Biblioth. selecta* lib. xvi. cap. ix. pag. 269, 270. Tom. II.

(72) It was printed at Rome in 1592, and at Lyons in 1593.

(73) Teissier, *Additions aux Eloges de Mr de Thou*, Tom. II. pag. 248.

(74) Grotius *Epist. ad Cordesum* apud *Colomesium* in *Gallia Orient.* pag. 85.

(75) Merie Casaubon, apud *Diceman*, ubi supra, pag. 5.

(76) Diceman, de *Naturalismo*, pag. 6.

(77) Joh. Henricus Ursinus in *S. Jeremie Virga vigilante & Olla succensa*, pag. 4. apud *Th. Crenium Animadv. Philolog. & Hist.* Part. II. p. 176.

(s) Bodin, de la
Republ. lib. ii.
cap. v. pag. 302.

(t) Tobias Ma-
girus Eponymol.
pag. 137, & seq.

(u) Sir Thomas
Pope Blount
Cens. Author.
pag. 524, & seq.

named (s) This Opinion does not seem to agree with the Doctrine, which he had also maintained, that the Power of those Monarchs is limited, and that they are obliged to govern according to the Laws; but after all it appears, that in both those Doctrines he aimed at the Public Good, the Peace and Tranquillity of the State [2]. The Germans complain much of him, and use him ill. See many Passages upon this in the Collections of Magirus (t), and in those of Sir Thomas-Pope Blount (u). Consult also the Speech of Thomas Lansius against France (x). Nevertheless some of the Germans own he had a sublime Wit and Judgment, and very great Erudition.

(x) Pag. 321,
302.

'Citizen in a State ought to do; when in several Places, and particularly in the eighth Chapter of the first Book of my Republic, I before any one else, and That in the most dangerous times, ventured to refute the Opinion of those who had writ on the Right of Taxation, and for enlarging the Prerogative; because they had attributed to Kings an infinite Power, above the Laws of God and Nature; and what is more popular than that I dared to write, that it was not lawful, even for Kings, to impose Taxes, without consent of the People? Or this, that I also laid down, that Princes are more strictly bound to observe the Laws of God and Nature, than Subjects, and that they are bound by Covenants as well as other Citizens? Though most Doctors of Civil-Law have taught the contrary.' If he had said no more, he would not have offended the Republicans; but because he maintained on the other side, That Subjects ought not to depose a lawful Monarch, who governs tyrannically, many Persons were offended at his Doctrine. He tells us the Reason, which moved him to maintain that Opinion, which is, that he saw, almost every where, People in War against their Princes; and because a vast number of Writings were dispersed in all Parts, which, by maintaining, that Kings may be deposed, and the Succession of Crowns regulated as it pleases the People, served only to shake all the Foundations of Society. He thought therefore, that his Duty obliged him to oppose those Maxims, which he judged so pernicious. 'Sed cum viderem ubique subditos in principes armari, libros etiam, veluti faces ad rerum publicarum incendia, palam proferri, quibus docemur principes divinitus hominum generi tributos, tyrannidis objecta specie, de imperio deturbare, reges item non à stirpe, sed à populi arbitrio peti oportere: easque disciplinas, non solum hujus imperii, verumetiam rerum omnium publicarum fundamenta labefactare: ego boni viri, aut boni civis esse negavi suum principem quantumvis tyrannum ulla ratione violare: hanc denique ultionem immortalis Deo aliisque principibus relinqui oportere: idque cum divinis & humanis legibus ac testimoniis, tum etiam rationibus ad assentiendum necessariis, confirmavi (83). - - But observing Subjects every where armed against their Princes, and that Books, like Firebrands to consume States, were publicly set forth, whereby we are taught, that Princes, who are given to Mankind by God, may be de-throned on pretence of Tyranny, and that Kings are not to be taken by Descent, but by the Pleasure of the People, and that these Doctrines shake the Foundations, not only of this Kingdom, but also of all other States. I denied it to be the part of a good Man, or a good Citizen, to offer any violence to his Prince, how tyrannical so ever. Lastly, that this revenge ought to be left to God and other Princes: and I confirmed it by Laws and Testimonies, both Humane and Divine, and also by undeniable Reasons.' Note, That intending to say, that the Protestants had a hand in those sort of Writings, he does it in a very moderate manner, clearing Luther and Calvin: these are his Words: 'It would be time lost to answer the frivolous Objections and Arguments of those, who hold the contrary Opinion: But, as he who doubts whether there is a God, deserves to feel the Punishment of the Laws, without using any Arguments; so do also those, who have called so clear a thing in question, and even published in printed Books, that Subjects may justly take up Arms against a Prince that is a Tyrant, and put him to Death in any manner whatsoever, although their most Eminent and Learned Divines hold, that it is never lawful to kill, nor so much as to rebel against one's Sovereign Prince, unless there is a special and un-

deniable Command of God for it; as we read of Jehu †, who was elected by God, and anointed King by the Prophet, with an express Command to destroy the Race of Abah (84). He shews, in another place, some Moderation towards those of Geneva, tho' he thought he had occasion of complaint against them, for the Edition of his Book published in their City. He does not come to Particulars, nor say like Possévin, That those of Geneva altered many things in that Work (85), but keeps within general Terms. If you understand Latin, you will be convinced of it: 'Alterum reprehensionis genus est eorum qui apud Genevates secundam editionem Reipublicæ nostræ promulgarunt: quam vel typis mandare, suisque civibus ad in-tuendum proponere minimè debuerant, vel auctoritatem à calumnia vindicare: si meminissent legis illius quæ à S. P. Q. Genevate lata est Nonis Jun. MDLIX. qua sanctissime vetitum est, secundo capite, in eos scriptores invehi quos interpretèrè. Quid autem à me scriptum est quod vel à privati cujusquam dignitate, vel ab illius Reipublicæ majestate sit alienum? at etiam laudavi quæ ab illis sunt laudabiliter instituta. Quæ verò reprehensionis digna putarunt, abundè, ut nobis quidem videmur, & suo quisque loco & ordine refutavimus, cum ea qua decuit animi temperantia, quam in illius civitatis scriptoribus perique populi desiderare solent (86). - - Another kind of reproof I have had, from the Publishers of the second Edition of my Republic at Geneva: which they either ought not to have put to the Press, and exposed to the perusal of their Citizens, or else to have vindicated the Author from slander: if they had remembered a Law, made by the States of Geneva on the fifth of June 1559, whereby, in the second Chapter, it is strictly forbidden to reflect on those Writers you interpret. But what have I writ, to the prejudice of either the Dignity of any private Man, or the Majesty of that Common-wealth? Nay, I have commended their Institutions that are laudable. But what they thought worthy of blame, I have, as I think, abundantly refuted, every thing in it's proper place and order, with that due temperature of mind, which most People find so much wanting in the Writers of that City.' Take notice, that he makes a great distinction between the Subjects of a Tyrant, and Foreign Princes; for he does not approve that Subjects should take up Arms to deliver themselves from Tyranny; but he approves that their Neighbours should come and deliver them from it. There is a great difference between saying, that a Tyrant may be lawfully killed by a foreign Prince, and that he may by a Subject. And as it is very glorious, and proper for any one, to defend by force the Estates, Honours, and Lives, of those who are unjustly oppressed, when there is no way to Justice open, as Moses did, seeing one of his Brethren abused and beaten, and that there was no way to get him Right: So it is a most noble and magnificent thing for a Prince to take up Arms, in order to revenge a whole Nation unjustly oppressed by the Cruelty of a Tyrant; as the great Hercules did, who went all over the World to exterminate those monstrous Tyrants, and was deified for his great Exploits: So did also Dion, Timoleon, Aratus, and other generous Princes, who were stiled the Chastizers and Correctors of Tyrants (87). Richeome makes many Reflexions on this Passage of Bodin, in the thirteenth Chapter of his Examen Categoriue de l'Anti-Coton (88).

[2] It appears that, in both these Doctrines, he aimed at the Public Good, the Peace and Tranquillity of the State. He maintained the first, when he saw Henry the Third's Flatterers or Creatures propose such things as might create great Abuses, to the oppression

† Kings iv. cap. vi, & x.

(84) Bodin de la République, lib. ii. cap. v. pag. 305.

(85) Genevates Bodinum reprehendentes in libris ejusdem de Republica pleraque immutarunt. Possévin. Biblioth. Tom. II. p. 263.

(86) Bodin, Epist. ad Viduam Fabrum.

(87) Id. de Republica, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 300.

(88) Pag. 113, & seq.

† Mart. Luth. Calvinus in Joannem, & in Instit. cap. ult. lib. iv. §. xxxi.

Erudition. See the same Collections. He was likewise censured by the *Italians*, as appears from the Political Discourse of *Fabio Albergati*, whose Method did not please *Bonifacio Vanozzi*. See the first Volume of his Letters (y). A very ingenious Answer was made to *Bodin* in *England* [R], to shew him that he had wanted Prudence in his Discourse. He had so good a Constitution of Stomach, that in all his Voyages he never was Sea-sick [S]. His Opinion about Comets was somewhat strange. See the Remark [O].

of the People; and he maintained the second, when he saw *France* full of Factions, and torn by Civil Wars, which gave birth to a great number of Manifesto's, and other Books, in which the most essential and fundamental Laws of Government were undermined. The Power of the People was asserted, in common Discourse, and in print, as freely as if it had been in a Democratical State, and Endeavours were used to exercise that Power; for a Translation of the Crown was designed. Nay, Assassins were approved, who, under pretence of Tyranny, attempted upon the Lives of Monarchs. This could not but produce the most dreadful Desolations. Wherefore *Bodin* shewed himself very well affected to the Public Good, by opposing such a Licentiousness.

Qui regias opes & honores popularibus commodis posthabui, idem scriptis ac sermonibus execratus sum eos qui tyrannidis specie suo principi manus afferre, deque regibus populi suffragio creandis rogationes promulgare, & e manibus legitimorum principum sceptrum violenter extorquere conantur.

(89). — I who postponed the King's Wealth and Honours to the Public Good, did likewise, both in writing and Discourses, detest those who endeavour, on pretence of Tyranny, to lay hands on their Kings, and promote Bills for creating Kings by the Suffrage of the People, and to wrest Scepters out of the hands of lawful Princes. He had the misfortune to contradict himself after the Death of *Henry III*; for he sided with the League; but the Fall of a Sinner does not spoil the good Actions that he has done.

[R] A very ingenious Answer was made to *Bodin* in *England*.] *Bodin* being in *England*, along with Mr de *Mompensier*, made himself odious to the English, and foolish to the French, by his Curiosity. Being at Dinner at an English Lord's House, he fell on the Pretensions of Princes to the Crown of *England*, and said, that a certain Princess was presumptive Heir to it, if she was not excluded, as being born out of the Country, by a Law whereof he never knew the Author, or the Original, nor could ever learn where it was to be found. You may find it, answers the English Lord, on the back of the Salique Law. A Repartee, which silenced this Prater, and gave him to understand, that it is not proper for Strangers to scan the Secrets of a State. This is what we read in the Eighty second Page of Mr *Colomies's Gallia Orientalis*; he cites these Words as taken out of the Two Hundred and thirty seventh Page of the second Volume of the History of *Henry IV*, written by *Peter*

Matthieu. I have consulted my Edition (90), and found there, not *Bodin* being in *England* along with Mr du *Mompensier*, but a learned Man, who had followed the late Monsieur in his Voyage to *England* (91). I am certain, that That learned Man is our *Bodin*; but it would be wrong to say, that he went into *England* with Mr de *Mompensier*; he went thither with the Duke of *Alençon*, who in *Peter Matthieu's* time might have been styled *feu Monsieur* (the late Monsieur). Mr *Menage* does not agree with that Historian, as to the Circumstances. The motive, says he (92), of the Duke of *Alençon's* Voyage into *England*, was his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*. *Bodin* discoursing one Day with an Englishman on that Subject, the Englishman told him, that the Marriage would never be; Strangers being excluded by a Law from the Royalty of *England*. *Bodin*, who was well versed in all the English Laws, as also in those of all other Kingdoms, asked the Englishman bluntly, where that Law was to be found? The Englishman answered as bluntly, That it was to be found on the back of the Salique Law: Which has since passed among us for a Proverb. I have this particular from Mr du *Puy*. Note, that there are two Citations in *Peter Matthieu*, and Mr *Colomies* takes notice but of one (93).

Bodin informs us, That he was sent into *England* in the Year 1581, by his Master the Duke of *Anjou* (94), during the sitting of the Parliament, where it was forbidden to speak of the Queen's Successor, on pain of High-Treason; that he harangued the Queen, and proposed to her the Adoption of the King of *Scotland*, and afterwards a Marriage. *Deinde Lenoxæ principis connubio & arctissima fœderis conjunctione. Hæc mea fuit ad reginam oratio* (95).

[S] In all his Voyages, he was never Sea-sick.] He relates this himself in his *Theatrum Naturæ*. How comes it, says he, that the Sea excites a Vomiting and a Loosness? He answers, That this is not general, and that he was seven times on the Sea, and even in a violent Storm, without finding any such thing. Id quidem insuetis navigare, nec tamen omnibus contingit: septies mari Oceano vetus, nihil tamen ejusmodi passus sum, etiam si sævissima procella jactatus, ac ruptis velis extrema pericula subierim: vidi tamen qui sanguinem vomerent (96). I need not mention the Physical Reason he gives; but the personal Fact of which he informs us, seemed to me worthy to be mentioned: it is part of his History.

BOI, commonly called **IL SIRACUSANO**, the *Syracusan*, was a very famous Player at Chesse, and very much considered in the Court of *Spain* under King *Philip II*. He received many fine Presents from That Prince. He received also many from Pope *Urban VIII*, and it was his own Fault that he did not receive a good Bishopric of him; for it was offered him (a), but he would not be a Clergyman. Having had the Misfortune to be taken by Corsairs, and to see himself reduced to Slavery, he found means to make those Turkish and savage Men tractable by his Skill at Chesse. They admired him for it, treated him civilly, and exacted no other Ransom from him but the Lessons he gave them for some Months on That Game (b). We shall speak of another excellent Gamester at Chesse in the Article **GIOACHINO GRECO**. It were to be wished that those two great Masters had given us some regular Treatise concerning That Game; but we have only some Fragments of the one, and some manners of playing by the other, which are not sufficient to make a formal Study of it. — Nevertheless a Collection has been made of what was found most proper to be put in use, and it has served to make a Book on That Subject (c) [A].

[A] His Lessons and those of *Gioachino Greco* on Chesse have been collected, to make a Book on that Subject. The Author whom I quote, speaks of it, as of a Work ready to come out. By joining, says he (1), to what has been taken from those two famous Gamesters, the Knowledge

which has been had from others, and the Observations which have been made, either by playing, or seeing others play at it; out of this whole matter a regular Body has been composed, which contains the Practical Science of Chesse. I inform you, that it is going to be published as a singular

(90) That of Geneva 1620, in 8vo.

(91) *Matthieu's Hist. of Henry IV. in the 2d Narration of the 6th Book, pag. 527.*

(92) *Menage, Remarks on the Life of P. Arnauld, pag. 145.*

(93) The other is, Voy l'Ambassadeur de M. Hotman.

(94) The same with the Duke of Alençon.

(95) *Bodin. de Rep. lib. vi. p. 1132.*

(96) *Bodin, in Theatro Naturæ, lib. ii. pag. 196, 197.*

(a) What an abuse! and what a fine way to attain to Episcopacy!

(b) Taken from a Letter inserted in the *Mercurie Galant*, August 1688, and December 1693.

(c) *Mercurie Galant*, December 1693, pag. 109.

(89) *Bodin. Epist. ad Viduum Fabrum.*

* Whoever is torn out of *England*, can lay no Claim to the Crown of *England*. See *Thuanus's History*.

(1) Letter inserted in the *Mercurie Galant*, August 1688, and December 1693.